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West prepares sanctions plan – just in case

DIE ZEIT

Western industrial countries are preparing possible sanctions against the Soviet Union in case it invades Poland.

Even the French, who showed least inclination of all to follow American demands for a trade embargo on the Soviet Union after the invasion of Afghanistan, are prepared to join in.

It looks as if Poland could bring the Western allies closer together.

Whether the western countries put their intentions into effect is another question.

And whether economic sanctions would work if applied is another.

Erwin Schlosser, director of the German Machine Tool Manufacturers in Frankfurt, is pessimistic: "I do not think it will be possible to get all the Western countries to pull together.

"We know what happens in the field of arms exports." And it is true that all previous experience indicates that economic boycotts are easy to get around.

Otto Wolff von Amerongen, president of the German Chamber of Industry and Commerce and of German Industry's East European Committee, believes that a major power which is potentially self-sufficient such as the Soviet Union is not going to allow economic considerations to influence its political decisions.

Up to now the Soviets have never made political concessions when the West has threatened economic sanctions or even partly applied them.

Willy Brandt's thesis that one cannot "punish a world power" is shared even by those in the West who criticise the transfer of technology to the Soviet Union.

Werner Obst, for instance, who before fleeing to West Germany was an economic expert in the GDR Ministerial Council Office, says that hopes of hitting the Soviet Union by an economic embargo are over-optimistic. Obst says that this is not even the essential point. He says the crux is to accelerate Moscow's decline to the level of a medium power by the West refusing any form of support.

This is possible because the Soviet Union depends to a high degree on the import of high quality technological products from the West – much more so than a mere superficial look at the overall trade figures indicate.

This would mean however that all Western countries including Japan would have to pull together and would be prepared to break long and short term supply contracts.

A few examples: the Oberhausen company Babcock is a traditional supplier of special installations used in the construction of power stations and especially of nuclear power stations.

Although the Soviet Union is pursuing self-sufficiency policies in the energy sector, it still depends on certain special imports from the West.

Without the Babcock equipment or similar products from other countries the Soviet atomic energy programme would be in difficulties.

A company specialising in the production of engines which are produced under licence in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia is convinced that the Russians would only produce rubbish if the supply of certain special alloys and gaskets were cut off. These are produced in the East Bloc, but not at the quality required.

And the plastic factories which Western companies built in the Soviet Union would virtually have to stop production if the West cut off supplies of softeners.

And agriculture, already in serious difficulties, would be in an even worse situation if the West stopped exporting insecticides to the Soviet Union.

If West Germany pulled out of the new pipelines for natural gas deal the tapping of new natural gas fields in the Soviet Union and Soviet energy programme would stagnate. The natural gas with which Moscow aims to pay for the German-built pipeline is only a part of the energy in Siberia which the Soviets want to tap.

If Western machine manufacturers put the brake on their exports to the Soviet Union, the Soviet economy would not collapse but it would be severely hit. German machine tools are top-quality.

Schlosser says: "The machines we deliver play a key part in the production process and are indispensable for the production of precision parts".

Machines, electrotechnical products, optical products, vehicles and ships account for 42 per cent of West German exports to the Soviet Union.

In 1979, the West German engineering industry exported DM2.7bn worth of goods to the Soviet Union. In this year the volume will probably even be greater. German exports to the Soviet Union have risen by a good 20 per cent.

The USSR can replace many Western goods and of course it can force the population to consume less, but it is dependent on supplies of high quality technology.

Although the Soviet Union has been building up its economy since the twenties with the aid of Western technology it is still not unable to produce high quality technological products.

There is a major technology gap between the Soviet Union and the West in the computer and machine tools sectors. The USSR is five to ten years behind.

A study by the Munich Ifo Institute shows that although the West has been far from stingy with the transfer of high quality technologies to the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union is still no danger to the competitiveness of Western industry.

Ifo asked a large number of companies, machine tool producers and constructors of industrial plant who have had close business contacts with the Soviet Union for years to what extent the Soviet Union is capable of copying Western know-how.

The result is not going to cause any Western industrialist alarm: "The adoption of the technological principles of plant from abroad takes considerably longer in the Soviet Union than in Western countries. The Soviets generally need five years to copy single machines and it can take them up to ten years to reproduce more complex plant."

Of course in the meantime Western technology is five to ten years further ahead.

All this underlines Soviet dependence on Western technology. Dependence on the West is therefore far greater than mere turnover figures for East-West trade would indicate.

This dependence on special deliveries would only make the Soviet Union vulnerable if a western embargo were total. It would also have to apply to the other Comecon countries, because Moscow often gets hold of what it most urgently needs via its East Bloc satellites.

Trade statistics show how dependent East Bloc countries are on the West. About a third of the Comecon countries' trade is with the West. And Comecon's major trade partner is West Germany, which accounts for 25 per cent of this total.

Conversely, the West's trade with the East is relatively small, between four and six per cent of total foreign trade.

A total embargo on the Soviet Union and the East Bloc would also involve retaliation. West Germany would probably have supplies of raw materials from the Soviet Union cut off; 14 per cent of our natural gas needs are supplied by the Soviet Union. With some other raw materials our dependence is even greater:

The USSR delivers to West Germany: 43 per cent of our paladium; 38 per cent enriched uranium: 27 per cent molybdene; 23 per cent ferro-chrome; 17 per cent phosphate.

This proves that there is no way that two-way trade is one way.

Wolfgang Hoffmann

(Die Zeit, 19 December 19')



Genscher in Prague

Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (left) is welcomed at Prague airport by *his Czech opposite number, Bohuslav Chnoupek.* Herr Genscher was making an official visit. (Photo: dpa)

IN THIS ISSUE

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Pundits analyse weight of Soviet threat

West German and US peace research specialists and political scientists at a three-day conference in Bad Homburg voiced anxiety about future ties between their two countries.

German and US views on fundamental aspects of East-West relations, and thus mutual ties, were expected to diverge and in part run counter to one another in the years ahead.

Views would differ on the gravity and extent of the Soviet threat and how to counter it, whether by a military build-up or by further bids for disarmament and detente.

Tension within the West was seen as originating from a new worldwide US-Soviet test of strength that was in full progress and expected by most of the experts at Bad Homburg to further intensify.

This trend would gain momentum regardless whether or not the Soviet Union invaded Poland and more or less independently of the further course of events in Afghanistan.

Germans and Americans were largely agreed that Soviet military might has increased substantially over the past decade, reaching approximate parity with the United States even in long-range nuclear weapons.

A majority of US politicians and strategists, it transpired at Bad Homburg, further feel the Soviet Union is increasingly inclined to use its military might to extend its sphere of influence — and possibly not only in the Third World.

During the tenure of the Carter administration US public opinion has undergone a far-reaching change of mind on the Soviet Union and the US position and role in world affairs.

This reappraisal has gone so far as to exaggerate the realignment of power that has undeniably taken place between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Little or no attention has been paid to US successes in world affairs or to challenges to the other side, such as military cooperation with China, which can hardly fail to have seriously upset the Soviet Union.

Take, for that matter, the decision to station long-range nuclear missiles in Europe or the Soviet exit from a role in the conflict between Israel and Egypt or the increase in US defence spending.

In view of the worldwide Soviet challenge America is largely or almost entirely intent on an arms build-up or modernisation programmes of its own in reply.

Unlike Europeans in general and German Social Democrats in particular, the United States mostly calls into question both the benefit to be derived from and the need for efforts to foster detente.

In the competition for spheres of influence America is currently paying increasing attention to the Near and Middle East, but by the mid- and late-80s US interest will revert mainly to Latin America, according to Richard LeBow of the National War College, Washington.

America's allies in Europe run a risk of being involved against their better interest in conflicts over other parts of the world.

The Olympic and Iran boycott bids were but a faint foretaste of what lay in store, said Professor LeBow.

The Europeans were also running the risk of being obliged to undertake military efforts that both overtaxed them economically and ran counter to their political inclinations.

America has, of course, derived less benefit than Europe from the sunny side of detente, such as relaxation of travel restrictions, a limited number of ties between the two Germanies and trade with the East.

So the United States was bound to be more likely to call detente into question, said Joseph Goffey of the Institute of International Security Studies, Pittsburgh.

Developments were less dependent on the personal style of President Reagan and his choice of advisers than on the heightening of US-Soviet contrasts.

US strategic thinkers see storm clouds gathering on the European horizon from both East and West, and in the circumstances Germans would find it particularly hard to pursue their national interests, Professor Coffey said.

At the Nato conference in Brussels the United States was said to have demanded not only an end to all economic and disarmament talks with the Soviet Union in the event of a Warsaw Pact occupation of Poland.

Washington was also said to have called for an end to the special relationship between the European Community and the GDR, which enjoys special access to West German and, indirectly, to EEC markets.

A Soviet invasion of Poland would not only put paid to Salt 2; it would also, or so it was assumed, make arms limitation agreements of any other kind a dead letter.

A number of pundits, including US government officials, reckon US defence spending will double to $250bn by 19[illegible] (nominally, if not in real terms).

This could easily be taken as the yardstick by which defence spending efforts by America's allies in Europe was measured.

US arms planning is mainly governed by anxiety lest the superior overkill capacity of Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles has reached the stage at which US missile silos could be knocked out by a single pre-emptive strike.

Thus US strategists are mainly concerned with making American missiles less vulnerable or more mobile or based nearer to the Soviet Union.

Professor Coffey reckoned Bonn would be given any new long-range nuclear missiles it wanted, and maybe more, by the Reagan administration.

But the suppliers of and hosts to this new generation of missiles would have different objectives inmind.

The new Euro-missiles would in all probability be designed and deployed for the eventuality of nuclear war in Europe — "a prospect to which the West Germans can truly not look forward with pleasure."

In this context a successful *defence* of the Federal Republic of Germany would differ little in effect from a defeat.

President Reagan will definitely devote much less attention for disarmament talks and agreements even though he might yet come to terms on a Salt 2 that has undergone cosmetic surgery.

Whatever agreements are reached will be most unlikely to impede arms projects on which a decision has already been reached.

The new US administration is less likely to be inclined to tolerate bids by Eastern and Western Europe to maintain a relaxed relationship.

President Reagan will hardly welcome this prospect at a time when ties between Washington and Moscow are on a razor's edge.

Dietrich Jörn Weder

(Vorwärts, 18 December 1980)

East's radio jamming under attack

The contents of Basket Three at the Madrid conference to review the 1975 Helsinki accords are issues that have been debated by the 35 CSCE countries for years.

Improvements in the international exchange of information, especially radio broadcasts, are at stake, and the issue is the same as ever: to jam not to jam.

Western and neutral states at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe are in favour of more than freedom of travel and a free exchange of ideas.

They are also in favour of regionally unlimited radio broadcasts, especially as technological progress makes it possible for radio waves to bridge the Iron Curtain.

Neither governments nor members of the general public in the West need to fear the blandishments of propaganda broadcasts from the Eastern bloc. Intellectual debate on the ideology of communism is considered desirable.

This is not the case in the East, where the authorities take a dim view of allowing the public to judge for themselves. For decades they have been used to telling their public what opinions it is to hold.

Western transmissions broadcast in the languages of East bloc countries are accordingly felt to be at least a nuisance, and in socialist countries the authorities have come up with only one answer: to jam Western programmes.

Jamming is an expensive business. The cost and effort involved in running a transmitter strong enough to jam broadcasts from other countries are enough to meet the electric power needs of a medium-sized town.

Yet the trouble and expense are more than likely to make East bloc listeners feel that radio programmes jammed by their governments must include some pretty important listening.

Take, for instance, the strikes in Poland a few weeks ago. Suddenly Western broadcasts were jammed again in nearby Latvia — and on 18 November, Independence Day, too!

At this symbolic juncture Voice of America transmissions in Latvian were jammed, whereas, interestingly enough, programmes in Russian were not.

So it was hardly surprising that Western delegations in Madrid pilloried the jamming of language services by Deutsche Welle, the BBC, Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe.

This East bloc practice was decried as censorship and a breach of the much-vaunted spirit of Helsinki.

The Eastern response was predictable, as so much else at the Madrid conference has been. A Soviet spokesman referred to Western language broadcasts beamed at Eastern Europe as vestiges of the Cold War.

As he saw it, he had a proposal for a solution to the problem that carried conviction. The flow of information exchanged ought also to be in keeping with the Helsinki accords and serve the interests of peace and international understanding.

Were Western broadcasters to abide by this considerations and ensure that their programmes were objective and constructive, everything would be fine.

If they failed to do so, the Soviet Union would continue to jam transmissions. It went without saying that the Soviet Union was to be the judge of what was objective and constructive.

CSCE observers are reminded of the 22 months of arduous and protected negotiations in Geneva on the text of the Helsinki accords.

At Geneva East bloc delegates had called on the West to guarantee that Western radio transmissions would abide by the spirit of detente in return for their undertaking to abandon the practice of jamming.

In a nutshell that would have meant a greater flow of information in return for the introduction of censorship in the West, which was a price too high even to consider.

The West decided that further jamming was the lesser of two evils, and the Western reaction in Madrid has been much the same.

The United States noted that the Soviet Union continued to jam programmes but left the conference in no doubt that it intended to carry on broadcasting.

The issue even arose at the outset of the Madrid conference when, on 13 November, Mr Blaker of the British Foreign Office in a statement of principle criticised the Soviet Union for resuming jamming of Russian language broadcasts by the West on 20 August after a five-year break.

He said it was as though the clock had been turned back, noting that;

"If the Soviet government had, for one reason or another, decided to put paid to its own, extremely intensive broadcasts to other countries, the jamming would still have warranted criticism even though a case could have been made out for a degree of balance in Soviet policy.

"But everyone knows that is not the case. The Soviet government seems to interpret the Final Act as though it were entitled both to broadcast and to jam."

The Soviet Union and its satellites have made it abundantly clear in Madrid that this analysis of the situation is, alas, absolutely accurate.

Siegfried Löffler

(Der Tagesspiegel, 12 December 1980)

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■ EUROPE

New equation as Greece joins the EEC

Greece has become a member of the EEC, a welcome development for the Community's policymakers.

But politicians in charge of EEC agriculture and finance are not so keen, especially as Spain and Portugal are also to become members.

The apprehension is well founded. The accession of Greece, which has been an associate member of the Community since 1962, will mean stiff competition in the agricultural sector for Italy and France.

The Greeks will make an all-out bid to draw as much profit from the subsidies of the agricultural market for specifically southern products as do the northern members of the Community with their billions worth of subsidies for milk and grain.

Apart from olive oil and wine, the EEC is not yet offering its new member any particularly attractive price and purchase guarantees; but this could well change.

New subsidies for cotton, dried figs and raisins are already in the offing, and others are likely to follow suit.

Though negotiations with Greece on details of the agricultural market are not yet completed, only optimists will assume that the Greek contributions to the Community pot in Brussels will more or less balance what that country gets out of it.

All that seems certain at the moment is that Greece will not greatly aggravate the Community's number one agricultural problem: the milk surpluses.

The EEC's total milk production of 104 million tons will increase by about 1.7 million tons, of which 0.6 million will be sheep milk and 0.4 million goat milk. This is partly balanced by annual Greek imports of about 0.3 million tons of milk products.

The real problem lies with fruit and vegetables — especially peaches and tomatos, the low price of which will have to be adapted to the relatively high EEC price level within the next seven years.

The consequence of this adaptation process will be that, under pressure from its new member, the Community will have to restrict its fruit and vegetable imports from non-member nations still further.

Hardest hit will be Israel, Europe's year-around supplier, and the seasonal suppliers in the southern hemisphere.

The annual tug-of-war over the import of fresh apples from New Zeland, South Africa and Chile provides a foretaste of what is in store.

Assuming — and only this assumption is realistic — that Greece and the other membership applicants will receive a number of costly investment commitments from the Community, the question is how all this is to be financed on top of other EEC commitments.

There can be only one answer. The Community must instantly seek a way to reduce the cost of intervention and protection for those products that have so far been the pivotal points of the market system in the north.

Unless this happens, the Mediterranean countries will have no reason to exercise restraint with products that are important to them such as wine, citrus and vegetables.

In other words: The same inflation of Community intervention and protection costs will occur in the south as now exists in the north.

The possibilities with which the European agricultural market provides the Greeks are in any event inexhaustible. They range from distilling surplus retsina wine all the way to destroying perishable peaches.

Community finance equalisation between north and south which, to all intents and purposes, the EEC is effecting with its overt and covert transfers will certainly continue to exists in the enlarged EEC.

The question is whether such a financial equalisation would be less full of problems and more efficient if it were not tied to agricultural policy.

There is much to be said in favour of a financial transfer within the EEC within the framework of regional rather than agricultural policy. As a result, the traditional agricultural promotion policy should be replaced for the new member countries by a structural policy for rural areas.

One of the agurments in favour of this is that the EEC concept of the development of fully viable agricultural enterprises can hardly be applied to the small-holding structure of agriculture in the new member nations.

On the other hand, it will probably be inevitable to cut back on the promotion of big farms — especially in Spain and Portugal.

Gerhard Hennemann

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 13 December 1980)

Scheel voted head of Euro union

Former West German President Walter Scheel has been elected President of the German Europa Union.

In a resolution at the union's national congress in Munich, the EU called for the further development of the European Community because, as it said, "European unification policy is peace policy."

In a speech at the end of the conference Scheel said that the EC should strengthen itself from within by giving itself a clear, federative constitutional order.

Friedrich Priller, Bavarian delegate of the Refugees' Association, resigned from the EU in protest at Scheel's election. He objected to Scheel's *ostpolitik* while he was Bonn Minister of Foreign Affairs and in particular to his concessions on the Moscow, Warsaw and Prague Treaties.

The assembly, in which 120 delegates represent about 30,000 members, elected previous president Theo M. Loch an honorary president. Loch, who had been president for seven years, did not stand for re-election.

Loch is editor in chief of the West German Broadcasting Corporation (WDR) in Cologne.

Deputy Bundestag speaker Annemarie Renger (SPD), Bavarian Justice Minister Karl Hillermeier (CSU) and lawyer Axel Zarges from Kassel were elected vice-presidents.

Scheel said that the challenges in Europe in many areas could only be met by strategic political concepts developed by the Europeans themselves.

He said there should be no questioning of Nato as the "elementary principle of our being."

Scheel said that there would have to be a deeper consciousness of the role of the European, especially among the young, to ensure that Europe was ready and capable of bearing responsibility.

Europe was already a challenge to the young. The citizen had not lost interest in Europe, in political unity, "but he is not satisfied with what is being offered."

He said it was therefore not surprising that agreement with the basic principle of European unity was often combined with criticism of practical European policies.

Scheel said that it was important to consolidate democratic development in Europe. That was why there was no alternative to the political unification of Europe.

A resolution was passed condemning the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the "inconsiderate rise in the compulsory rate of exchange for visitors to the GDR" on the grounds that both contravened the principles of the Helsinki agreement and affected detente policy.

The resolution added that detente and military intervention in Europe were mutually exclusive concepts.

"Whoever infringes on a country's right of self-determination, puts himself outside the civilised community of states and must reckon with sanctions."

The EC and all other European states were called upon to give Poland the economic aid it had requested.

Gerhard Eickhorn, general secretary of the German Council of the European Movement, said that in the next European elections in 1984 the voters should decide for or against a European government.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 15 December 1980)

OECD's role gains in importance

The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has become an important body after its 20 years of existence.

The Organisation, based at the Paris Chateau de la Muette which once served as a hunting lodge for French royalty, is trying to find remedies for the economic ills of its 24 member nations.

Its objective is to jointly combat unemployment, growing inflation rates, inadequate developement aid and still unsolved energy problems.

The OECD was founded to coordinate cooperation among Western industrial countries in economic, social and development policy matters.

It is an offspring of the purely European Office for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) which, since 1948, has distributed 14bn dollars of Marshall Plan money for the reconstruction of war-ravaged Europe.

It was the good experience with the OEEC that persuaded 18 industrial nations to found the much larger follow-up organisation. It was later joined by the United States, Japan, Australia and New Zealand.

The OECD's aim is to create a framework for stable currencies, free world trade and harmonious economic growth.

And since the growing gap between the industrial and the developing countries became increasingly marked, an additional aim, the improvement of the Third World's position, was officially adopted.

The initial phase of the OECD fell in the fat years. The economic impulses of the 1960s made it relatively easy to develop cooperation among the member states.

Occasional successes — especially in analysing and predicting economic developments in the individual countries as an aid in overcoming monetary crises and promoting development aid — justified its existence. But the actual trial of strength came in the following decade.

When the OECD tackled the human problems of the enormous economic growth and proposed measures to improve the quality of life and the social policy in its member states the world was hit by the 1973 oil shock.

In the general confusion and lacking an economic patent remedy that would have provided relief, the organisation soon became the consultation forum of the oil consuming countries — a forum in which to work out common strategies.

Thus, for instance, a trend to build up national trade barriers was eliminated by an undertaking of the OECD members not to restrict imports and artificially promote exports.

The International Energy Agency (IEA) was established as an offshoot of the OECD at the end of 1974. Its 19 member nations acted as a consumer organisation of industrial nations versus the oil exporters.

The IEA drafts energy policy, supervises supplies and provides emergency programmes.

Like the OECD, it is based at the Chateau de la Muette. Yet independence-conscious France, though providing the premises, belongs to neither of the two organisations.

In the years after the big economic debacle, the 2,000 Paris-based experts tried to work out a new economic strategy as a protection against yet another recession.

In 1976, the member nations (which in the early 1960s would not have put up with less than 5 per cent annual growth) agreed on a limited but sustained growth. This was to have checked inflation, one of the main bugbears.

The effective work of the past years has made the OECD an important and generally praised international organisation. The forecasts of the independent experts enjoy an excellent reputation, though they are not always acted on by governments.

Says OECD Secretary-General Emil van Lennep: "Their credibility depends on the extent to which they influence governments."

Obviously, the Paris experts are happiest when sound suggestions are heeded and bad forecasts fail to materialise.

The OECD is also playing an increasingly important role in bringing about swift international contacts, frequently behind closed doors.

A member of Germany's permanent delegation to Paris: "The OECD is, apart from the EEC, the only organisation where you can really talk and that really functions."

This was not meant as an anniversary nicety, but such confidence stregthens the organisation's position in coping with the poor economic prospects it forecasts for its members for the decade to come.

dpa

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 13 December 1980)

■ SPACE RESEARCH

First satellite of series starts an era

A new era in international telecommunications began with the launching of the first of the Intelsat 5 series of satellites.

This satellite will take up its final position about 36,000 km over the Atlantic.

After about 12 weeks preparation, in which stations and receivers make adjustments, the satellite will start operating as a relay for telephone, telex and television communications between the continents.

Intelsat 5 satellites can transmit simultaneously over 12,000 telephone calls and two colour TV programmes.

This is almost double the capacity of the previous Intelsat 4 A satellite.

There will be further launchings at three to four month intervals until eight new satellites are in position.

The first four are being launched by American Atlas Centaur rockets and the next three will, it is hoped, be launched by the European rocket, Ariane.

The planned launchings by Ariane was a powerful boost to the European rocket industry.

Only five years ago, a satellite launched by a non-American rocket would have been *unthink*able.

The need for a new series of satellites emerged as the demand for telephone connections via satellite began to exceed capacity.

At the moment there are 35,000 channels for international telephone calls via satellite and it is estimated that by 1985 more than 92,000 will be needed.

Assuming an annual growth in demand of 20 per cent, 300,000 channels will be needed by the mid nineties.

The huge increase posed problems for scientists as the radio frequencies from 4 to 6 gigahertz are already completely full.

Intelsat 5, for the first time, uses frequencies between 11 and 14. This new wavelength also brings difficulties. As the frequencies get higher, meteorological factors such as snow, rain and fog



Usingen Intelsat relay station, near Frankfurt, handles European and transatlantic telephone calls. (Photo: Heinrich Diel)

have a greater effect on the quality of the transmission. Greater power of transmission — from the ground stations and from the satellite — is therefore needed.

Intelsat 5 can for the first time make fourfold use of the existing frequencies. It has six transmission antennae facing various parts of the world. Its parabolic mirrors can cover entire continents, though others concentrate on areas with high telephone density, i.e. the area around New York and central Europe. By precisely focussing the antennae, different radio beams can work on the same frequency.

And each signal is polarised in two ways, so that the number of channels can thus again be doubled.

Despite its increased capacity, the Intelsat only weighs one tonne, hardly more than its predecessors.

Intelsat 5 is the first satellite with a three-axis stabilisation system. The others stabilised by revolving around their own axis every few minutes.

Intelsat 5 on the other hand always maintains its relative position to the surface of the earth. This means the Intelsat does not need rocket jets to get it back into the correct position.

The stabilisation system was built by the West German aerospace company Messerschmidt-Bölkow-Blohm, which had already gathered experience in this field with the Franco-German communications satellite Symphonie.

Several other French, British, Italian and Japanese companies are also taking part in the project. Their share in it totals 25 per cent. This is the first time non-American firms have received such large orders as part of the Intelsat programme.

The fact that several countries have helped build the Intelsat underlines the international nature of the entire project.

The Intelsat (International Telecommunications Satellites Organisation) network was founded in 1964 by 11 nations including Germany.

Today there are 105 member states and another 30 use the satellites.

Every Intelsat state has a share in the project, graded according to the amount of use it makes of the system.

The German Post Office has two huge parabola antennae in Raisting in Upper Bavaria and in Using the Taunus — both geared for use with Intelsat.

The Usingen parabola, specially built for use with Intelsat 5, covers the 11-14 gigahertz frequencies. Other antennae in both places are either already in use or being built, because the capacity of the Intelsat network increases rapidly.

The new Intelsat 5 satellites are not the last word in telecommunications technology by a long shot. Work is already going ahead on a more sophisticated version, the Intelsat 5 A, which, it is hoped, could be launched in 1984. And Intelsat 6s could be ready by 1985/86.

These new versions of Intelsat would double the capacity of the present satellites again by using digital technology.

Wolfgang Brauer
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 13 December 1980)

Fuel system causes Ariane hitch

Serious and recurring problems of vibration in the fuel injection system of the Euro rocket, Ariane, could delay its third launching, planned for March 1981.

Tests at the German Research and Experiment Institute for Aeronautics and Aerospace (DFVLR) in Lampoldshausen, near Heilbronn, have revealed instability in the rocket's combustion chambers, as a result of which the test stand was damaged.

A new rocket engine, developed and built by the French Societe Europeenne de Propulsion (SEP) has now been delivered and is to be tested after the Christmas holidays.

The purpose of the experiments is to ensure that the injection system for the four rocket engines does not cut out.

Until the Lampoldshausen test centre is back in operation, most of the tests will be held at the SEP test centre in Vernon, west of Paris.

The French Space Authority CNES is determined that the four rocket engines should be in perfect working order. The injection jet for the correct distribution of fuel within the combustion chamber is 48 centimetres and has 1,000 openings through which fuel is injected into the chamber at a rate of 250 kilogrammes a second. The fuel injector tested at Lampoldshausen was not of the same quality as that envisaged for the main launching.

The vibrations during the test on 3 November started only four seconds after ignition. When the second Ariane rocket was launched, the same thing happened 5.75 seconds after ignition.

A nozzle burst, fuel was injected in the wrong direction and the whole fuel injection system broke loose.

The DFLVR test stand had been specially re-activated for the accelerated combustion chamber tests. Previously the engine for the second stage of the launching, built by Erno, of Bremen, had been independently tested there.

It is important that the launching of Ariane 3 should be a success because two satellites are being launched into geo-stationary orbit: the European weather satellite Meteosat and the Indian news satellite Apple.

In the next three starts in 1981, the maritime communications satellites Marecs A and B, the Italian satellite Sirio 2 and the research satellite Exosat are due to be launched.

In 1982, Ariane, which by then should by fully operational, is due to launch the first two ECS television satellites and three Intelsat 5 satellites.

Rudolf Metzler
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 6 December 1980)

Spring launch is planned

The German satellite launching company, Otrag, plans its first launch in spring. Launching pads and test stands have been built at Seba oasis in Libya, 800 km south of Tripoli.

This is the site chosen after the company was forced to leave Zaire in 1979.

For the past half year, Frank Wukasch has been technical director of the company, which specialises in cut-price rockets.

Otrag is regarded by other companies in the same line as something of a maverick.

As in the Zaire tests, four units of these *cheap* rockets will be brought together to launch atmospheric research satellites.

This is where Wukasch sees his main market at the moment.

The first test satellite is due to be launched about the end of 1982. For this 48 12-metre units will be used. Wukasch says that Otrag is gradually moving towards rocket sizes that will enable it to launch television satellites into geo-stationary orbit in 1983.

Satellites in geo-stationary orbit revolve around the earth at the same speed as the earth's revolutions, which makes them appear to be standing still.

Otrag were booted out of Zaire because of political pressure from that country's neighbours. It then planned to launch rockets from ships, but this proved too costly.

Otrag does not now need to pay for its Libyan launching site and will not have to do so until it has sold its satellite launchers. Wukasch said that DM12m had already been paid for six options on the rockets.

Libya will then want about five per cent of the selling price. No contracts have been signed.

Otrag gets no support from the Libyan government in Tripoli. Transport of the huge metal tubes from which the rockets are assembled to the Seba oasis is also a problem. The launching area in the desert does not even belong to the Germans and they cannot even rent it.

They merely have permission to test and launch their rockets in the area. Nonetheless, Libya does have some interest in the success of the German rocket-builders as it is planning to launch its own news satellites.

The worldwide demand for satellite launchers is at any rate greater than the supply. In the USA production has been reduced, the European Ariane launcher has yet to prove itself — as does the Otrag rocket.

Wukasch reckons that Otrag's chances of staying in the race are good. It is still offering its launchers for only half the price the Americans want for their Titan III Cs.

One problem is that no major Otrag launcher has got airborne yet.

Wukasch believes that this difficulty can be overcome by using a new steering system.

Lutz Kayser, father of the cheap rocket, is still around, but he is lying low. Half a year ago he succeeded Kurt Debus as chairman of the supervisory board, while remaining a technical adviser. His main worry at the moment is probably how to get hold of the DM150m Wukasch needs to get the rocket airborne.

The 1,400 sleeping partners in the firm, with an eye to writing off their losses against tax, have already put up this sum once before.

Klaus Müller
(Die Welt, 6 December 1980)

■ CHILDREN

Class 5e and the poser of segregation

Süddeutsche Zeitung

If the children had been permitted to vote on it, there would be no class 5e at the *Johannes Kepler Hauptschule* in Mannheim.

Only Turkish, Greek, Yugoslav and Italian children are being taught there. Not a single German fellow pupil from the 4th class has stayed with the foreign children.

Maria, an Italian girl, says: "I want German children with me." And a 12-year-old Turk seconds her, saying: "We need German friends."

That 5e consists only of foreign children is certainly not due to the fact that German children do not want anything to do with them. In mixed classes, the Germans have a very high opinion of their foreign fellow pupils. They appreciate that the foreigners are full of ideas and that they are quick to grasp things.

In a discussion with Karl Gross, a senior official of the education authorities, they took stock and voted against segregation.

But, as Herr Gross puts it: "Where are we to get the German children we need?"

The whole problem, which the education authorities are trying to mitigate by establishing 13 pure foreigners' classes at six Mannheim schools, boils down to this simple formula.

The education authorities have thus erected an artificial frontier between children who have long been used to mixed nationalities.

Foreign families have for years been flocking to the uninviting areas of the inner city. And the children have been much more successful than their parents in coming to an arrangement with other nationalities. In fact, many children are about to forget their national origins. As one girl puts it: "I'm Greek and German."

But Baden-Württemberg's Education Minister Gerhad Maier-Vorfelder had ordered the separation of foreign and German children in certain circumstances and there was nothing to be done about it.

Essentially, the integration aim has been retained but a class with German children should not have more than 30 per cent foreigners.

This *numerus clausus* of integration at school was only introduced on a trial basis in the first two grades of elementary and secondary schools in the inner city of Mannheim.

The result was that, as at the *Johannes Kepler Hauptschule*, there are four thoroughly mixed classes with foreigners only and two classes that include Germans but have a foreigners' ratio of 44 and 38 per cent, thus exceeding the official quota.

Had the education minister not declared the system as a "model" in coping with the problem of foreigners and had he not depicted it as a pioneering feat, he would have spared himself a lot of trouble and misunderstanding.

The "Mannheim model" is a departure from the integration idea, says a spokesman of the Teachers Union.

And opposition MP Roland Hahn (SPD) attacked the minister, saying: "If the education minister differentiates between foreign and German children he paves the way for racism. Such a policy amounts to an attempt to introduce apartheid into our school system."

This is where the term "Mannheim apartheid" originated — a term which has deeply hurt the feelings of school principals and Education Authority officials. It is almost impossible to eliminate this slogan although it does no justice to the motives of the experiment.

Educationalists consider the reorganisation of the classes ot as a model but as an attempt at an emergency solution.

Herr Gross: "We realise that integration would be better, but this makes more sense in educational terms."

While inspecting several schools and explaining the details of the system, he repeatedly remarked: "We do it to save ourselves."

"Saving" in this context does not mean giving in to stupid prejudices but alleviating an educational state of emergency — an emergency borne out by figures.

Thus, for intance, at the beginning of this school year only one in four children at the *Johannes Kepler Hauptschule* was German.

At the *Hilda Schule* foreign children accounted for 66 per cent. In the elementary schools that are part of this set-up, foreigners accounted for 71 and 67 per cent respectively of the first graders.

Since most German children later go to a *Realschule* or *Gymnasium* only few will remain in the *Hauptschule*. This does away with the question who is to be integrated with whom which is still topical at the moment.

Anticipating the problems of the future

The foreigners' classes of today thus anticipate the future situation. They have a pioneering function inasmuch as they force the school administration, teachers, organisations and parents to prepare for the future.

But exactly this has been omitted in Mannheim. The teachers learned only a short time before beginning with their instruction that they would be teaching only Turks, Yugoslavs, Greeks and Italians.

Foreign parents were outraged when they learned that their children would be separated from German children, fearing discrimination. And when the foreign first graders found themselves entirely without German children the parents rightly asked: "Where are all the German children?"

Much of the commotion has meanwhile settled. It has turned out that the class arrangement under the new system is better for normal instruction compared with the previous system where German children were fairly evenly distributed.

The mixed classes are more homogeneous than before because — especially in the *Hauptschule* — the foreign children in them have virtually no language difficulties and can therefore fully participate.

Here the teacher no longer has to help a Turkish child adapt to the ideas of his German fellow student. As one teacher puts it: "The foreigners no longer hold the German children back."

To achieve this aim, the school administrators pin their hopes on what they call the "division procedure".

With the preponderance of foreigners it became increasingly hard to reach the curriculum goal.

Admits one teacher: "In elementary school we only managed to reach the level of the third grade."

As a result, the children found it hard to transfer to a *Realschule* or a *Gymnasium* and keep up with demands.

Many German parents therefore tried to register their children with another elementary school, some moved or said that their child was living with an aunt or some other relative in another city borough. Many families moved away from the inner city for no other reason than schooling, while others refused to live there in the first place.

The number of those to be integrated with diminished while the number of "integrees" rose.

The segregation seems to do more justice (though in a limited way) to the foreigners as well. The teachers can more fully devote themselves to them and convey knowledge which is taken for granted with German children.

It is hard to resist the sarcastic remark that it is now only foreign children who hamper each other. But the educational planners deny this. They hope that the classes of foreigners will in a few years catch up with the others.

One principal even goes so far as to say: "The foreigners are a talent reservoir for us." He thinks of his own *Hauptschule*, the standard of which he hopes to raise through the foreigners, including those who, had they had a better starting chance, could easily have gone to a *Realschule* or a *Gymnasium*.

The inadequacies of the "Mannheim model" are obvious. But even a city as progressive as Berlin in matters of educational and aliens policy has had no option since 1977 but to establish pure foreigners' classes in normal school instruction.

According to a Senate resolution, German children must not be in the minority. Foreign children whose German is inadequate may not account for more than 20 per cent in a mixed class — a quota agreed upon at the Education Ministers Conference in 1976.

But since Berlin does not bus foreign children to another district if in their own borough there is a shortage of German children, 3,300 children attend pure foreigners' classes in elementary schools alone.

Educational policy makers in Berlin and Düsseldorf are surprised about the acrimony in the discussion in Baden-Württemberg.

Karl-Heinz Walter at the Düsseldorf Education Ministry defends his Stuttgart colleagues, saying: "The whole thing is a major problem and there are no patent remedies."

This is not much of a consolation for the Mannheimers.

The chairman of the Parents' Association, Godehard Fleischer, figures that in Mannheim 93 per cent of children in the lower grades of *Hauptschule* will be foreigners by 1983. Says he: "The situation now is like paradise; but what's ahead is a catastrophe."

Theo Wurm

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 9 December 1980)

Wide support for road safety campaign

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Last year, 61,656 children under [...] were involved in traffic accid[...] There were 1,050 fatalities.

Though the accident rate was consi[...]rably lower than in the previous yea[...] is nevertheless very high when compa[...]ed with similar statistics in other co[...]tries.

Most of the children (36 per ce[...] were pedestrians, 34 per cent rode [...] at the time of the accident and 29 [...] cent were motorised in one way [...] another.

New the German Traffic Safe[...] Council has launched a safety campa[...]

The initiators of the campaign w[...] on the assumption that it is impossi[...] to change the children and make the[...] conform to traffic exigencies. This, the[...] say, would be contrary to the physi[...] and mental makeup of the youngest o[...] them and would not take into accou[...] their limited perception.

What matters, therefore, is to conce[...]trate on parents and all participants [...] traffic and to make them realise th[...] they are responsible for the children[...] safety.

This will be the focal point of th[...] drive.

One of the main objectives is to clo[...] information gaps and familiarise adu[...] with the psychology of children.

What adults consider carelessness [...] children in road traffic is in reality the[...] inability to cope with the complexiti[...] of it.

Main pillars of the campaign are: i[...]formation for parents and adults i[...] general regarding child behaviour; sp[...]cial instruction for drivers to familiari[...] them with children's reactions in traffi[...] and the adaptation of traffic laws t[...] children's attitudes.

The traffic Safety Council intends t[...] train 1,400 socalled "moderators" b[...] mid-1981 to enable them to conduc[...] meetings with parents. They will b[...] equipped with films and other instru[...]tive material.

The moderators will concentrate o[...] those parents who have not taken th[...] initiative in instructing their children o[...] conduct in traffic. In many instance[...] they will have to concentrate on forei[...]ners in this country.

A special brochure has been devis[...] for driving instructors; and there will [...] separate information sheets for you[...] groups.

This will later be augmented by fu[...]ther programmes directed at speci[...] groups concerned with traffic safety.

Gerhard Schork, the president of th[...] Council, has linked the new campai[...] with his organisation's previous acti[...]ties.

After such campaigns as "Change [...] Climate in Traffic" (generally known [...] its slogan "Hello Partner — Thanks") [...] was time, he said, to concentrate o[...] specific groups and problems.

Herr Schork drew attention to th[...] financial aspect of the campaign, whi[...] has already cost DM3m. Should th[...] Council's subsidies for next year be re[...]duced, important target groups whi[...]

Continued on page 12

■ COMMUNICATIONS

TV shows up deficiencies in use of the German language

A television service financed from compulsory licence fees has a duty not only to entertain but also to inform and to educate.

This duty to educate and to inform is a strong argument for the public corporation form of television service in the debate about the comparative merits compared with those of private, commercial television.

The latter does not yet exist in this country, but will probably not be long coming.

In the debate, there has been too much concentration so far on thematic aspects, on what the contents of programmes should be. There has been no discussion of aesthetics.

One important point which ought to be considered is the language used on television. Do television personalities express themselves in such a way as to reach their audiences. Do they set standards for correct use of the language or do they sin against its rules?

And, does their language serve the democratic interests of the citizens?

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Here in Germany we have nothing comparable to what the English, half admiringly, half ironically, refer to as Oxford English. There is no such thing for instance as Tübingen German. There is no tradition-maintaining and tradition-creating force here in this country.

Public language in this country of thinkers and poets is cruelly neglected and maltreated. One need only listen to our politicians or read official texts. Some of these are so dreadful that their authors ought to be brought before the courts and made answer for their abysmal performances.



After all this it is no wonder that many people regard German as merely a linguistic conveyor-belt with little human value.

There is no doubt that the mass media are influential here, and that the way they handle our language has an effect.

At the recent Mainz Television Criticism Conference, Rudolf Walter Leonhardt said that "no German was listened to more than television German and therefore television German is the main standard for imitation."

Leonhardt went on to argue that television language should be exemplary. "An exemplary language is correct, specific and spontaneous ... Better German on television could raise the educational level of the nation."

Instead, Leonhardt said, "the level is constantly being lowered: by incorrect grammar — wrong use of prepositions, wrong use of the subjunctive, mixing up the meaning of words and above all by "metaphors gone berserk."

A typical television-German sentence: "When Helmut Schmidt travels to Washington in a fortnight, he will have his defence policy contours at least in outline in his baggage."

The list of television's linguistic crimes is long and often embarrassing. I am not referring here to the realistic dialogues in films which have frequently led to protests from the viewers — for example when certain swear words are used or when marginal groups talk frankly and realistically.

When talking of crimes, attention should be concentrated on the insensitive and often just plain incorrect German that is so often spoken on television.

The only systematic studies of television language done so far have concentrated on information broadcasts and especially news bulletins.

Media analysts have reached some alarming conclusions about this language. Linguist Erich Strassner said for example that: "The texts were too complex in their linguistic structure, containing too many technical and foreign words ... they were not at all identical with the language people normally use in their everyday communication."

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Manfred Delling

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsbl[illegible] 14 December 19[illegible]

Road safety

Continued from page 10

form part of the new campaign would not receive the attention they deserve.

The two major German automobile clubs have assured the Council of their support; and Transport Minister Hauff called on the motor industry to become more involved with traffic safety.

He said that the present situation in which the federal government provides 70 per cent of the Council's budget must be changed — especially in view of the fact that 280 companies and institutions are members of the Council.

The minister said that the financing of the new campaign was secured through the DM5m that has been made available.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 11 December 1980)

A Christmas present to boost viewdata

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The aim of the exercise is to boost the viewdata experiment in the Düsseldorf and Neuss areas.

For the past six months, telephone subscribers in the Düsseldorf area have been able to get information via telephone on their TV screens.

Viewdata is a combination of telephone network, computer and home TV screen.

The items of information and the information suppliers go into the thousands.

Information suppliers include the ADAC (The German Automobile Association) and the headings under which information can be called up include "interim examination," "national socialism," "dishwashing machines," "the Catholic Church," "weeds" and "research into the future."

Viewdata gives information on snow levels in the Arlberg and night life in Berlin.

Information suppliers regularly feed additions and updated information into the Post Office computer and hope that subscribers want the information. And the Post Office pockets the telephone fees. (Calling up an item of information on viewdata costs as much as a local phone call.)

Up to now, subscriber interest has been minimal. The "field experiment" in Düsseldorf and Neuss began on 1 June 1980 and will continue until 31 May 1983; 2,000 private households and 1,000 companies are taking part.

After six months of the experiment, there are only 890 subscribers and even this number has only been reached because the Post Office gave a helping nudge. It told television shops about the experiment and asked salesmen to tell potential buyers.

The Post Office has agreed to pay the price of the additional device which has to be built into the TV receiver to enable it to get viewdata.

The experiment is meant to be representative and so the Post Office has given away 30 TV sets and special receivers to wage-earners who so far have shown least interest in the experiment.

Things have not quite worked out the way the media prophets predicted. The lack of interest, despite considerable Post Office publicity, has caused surprise. One discouraging factor is perhaps that potential customers have to buy a new colour television set.

Another problem is that the system of information-finding which entails going from the general to the particular and typing several numbers and signs makes demands on the capacity for abstract thinking. Once the novelty effect of working the device has worn off, the customer's interest often flags.

And what use are all these thousands of items of information to the normal citizen? Does he want to know how high the snow is in the Arlberg? Is the viewdata system at all interesting for [illegible] private individual?

Perhaps the system is more interes[illegible] ing for companies who may want [illegible] make many inquiries every day.

At any rate, it is thought-provoki[illegible] that not even a third of the target num[illegible] ber of participants has been reache[illegible] after half a year.

As for the information suppliers, [illegible] mail order firms are well pleased. The[illegible] use viewdata to deliver catalogues [illegible] say that the system has helped the[illegible] turnover. Travel agents have found th[illegible] viewdata subscribers ask different ques[illegible] tions from clients in their agencie[illegible] where they ask much more precise ques[illegible] tions — and so travel agents feed th[illegible] computers accordingly.

Probably home subscribers are conte[illegible] with more general information supplie[illegible] will have to adapt to this and to ma[illegible] other things.

It is still far too early to pass a fi[illegible] judgement on the experiment, whi[illegible] after all runs until 1983. Viewdata is s[illegible] an unknown quantity and many [illegible] sceptical about it. Quite possibly the p[illegible] litical discussion on the value or othe[illegible] wise of these new media has had an e[illegible] fect.

The Post Office, which stands [illegible] make a considerable profit from exte[illegible] sive use of the system, consoles itse[illegible] with historical hindsight: in 1900 the[illegible] were 1,150 telephone subscribers [illegible] Düsseldorf; today there are over 300,00[illegible]

It was the same with radio, whe[illegible] there was a sudden breakthrough.

At the moment, however, viewd[illegible] does not look a winner, nor indeed ev[illegible] an also-ran. Few people even know [illegible] it is running.

Wolfram Köhler

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 11 December 19

■ COMMUNICATIONS

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(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 14 December 1[illegible])

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Perhaps the system is more inte[illegible] ing for companies who may wa[illegible] make many inquiries every day.

At any rate, it is thought-provo[illegible] that not even a third of the target n[illegible] ber of participants has been reac[illegible] after half a year.

As for the information suppliers, [illegible] mail order firms are well pleased. T[illegible] use viewdata to deliver catalogues [illegible] say that the system has helped th[illegible] turnover. Travel agents have found [illegible] viewdata subscribers ask different q[illegible] tions from clients in their agen[illegible] where they ask much more precise q[illegible] tions — and so travel agents feed [illegible] computers accordingly.

Probably home subscribers are ot[illegible] with more general information supp[illegible] will have to adapt to this and to m[illegible] other things.

It is still far too early to pass a [illegible] judgement on the experiment, w[illegible] after all runs until 1983. Viewdata is [illegible] an unknown quantity and many [illegible] sceptical about it. Quite possibly th[illegible] litical discussion on the value or o[illegible] wise of these new media has had a[illegible] fect.

The Post Office, which stands [illegible] make a considerable profit from [illegible] sive use of the system, consoles [illegible] with historical hindsight: In 1909 [illegible] were 1,150 telephone subscribers [illegible] Düsseldorf; today there are over 300[illegible]

It was the same with radio, w[illegible] there was a sudden breakthrough.

At the moment, however, view[illegible] does not look a winner, nor indeed [illegible] an also-ran. Few people even know [illegible] it is running.

Wolfgang Kö[illegible]

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 11 December [illegible])

Road safety

Continued from page 10

form part of the new campaign would not receive the attention they deserve.

The two major German automobile clubs have assured the Council of their support; and Transport Minister Hauff called on the motor industry to become more involved with traffic safety.

He said that the present situation in which the federal government provides 70 per cent of the Council's budget must be changed — especially in view of the fact that 280 companies and institutions are members of the Council.

The minister said that the financing of the new campaign was secured through the DM5m that has been made available.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 11 December 1980)